

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Socialist Programs In Western Europe

Postwar Governments Will Test Effect of Nationalization On Major Industries

FRANCE AND BRITAIN SET PACE

International Ties Are Large Factor In Determining Degree of Government Control

The French political crisis precipitated by General de Gaulle's refusal to grant Communists one of the three key posts in his cabinet which they demanded brought into the open the central issue now facing all the nations of Europe: the kind and degree of socialism their new governments will represent. By now, elections and the establishment of provisional governments have indicated leftward trends in nearly every country from Britain to the Balkans, from Norway to Italy. What remains to be decided is how far these trends will go and in what kind of governmental institutions they will be expressed.

Each of the European nations is working out the answer to this problem in terms of its own economic and political circumstances. For the countries of eastern Europe, relations with Russia constitute a particularly important factor, and the need for drastic land reform another. For the countries of western Europe, relations with the United States are highly significant, as are the problems of rehabilitating primarily industrial economies.

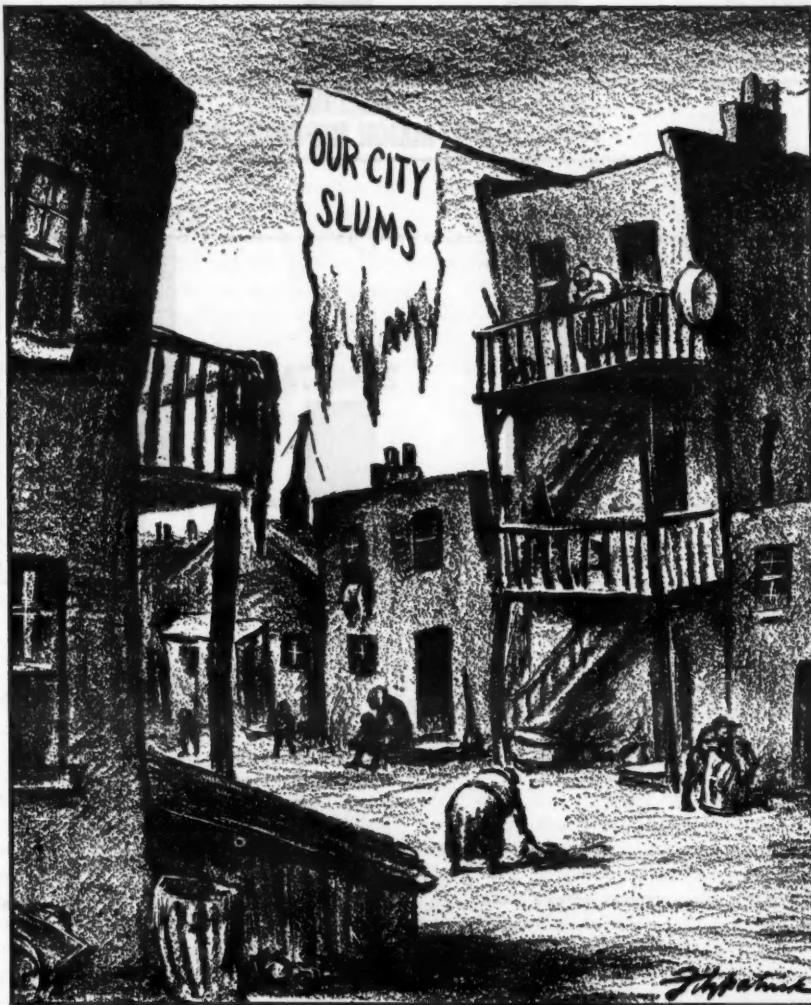
Issues in France

In France, the great controversy is being fought out in the struggles for power of three leading political groups—the Communists, the Socialists, and members of the Popular Republican Movement. The issues involved in the recent political crisis are discussed on page 7 of this paper. Upon the distribution of power among Communists, Socialists, and members of the Popular Republican Movement will depend the kind of program to be carried through for France.

The three parties are agreed on a number of basic points. All three want a mixed economy, in which some businesses and industries will be socialized and some left in private hands. They agree that the area left to individual enterprise should be larger than that in Russia and smaller than that in the United States. They agree that, in the enterprises placed under public control, planning and administration should be less centralized than it would be under the Russian system, but more centralized than under the American. None of the three groups favors socializing farm land and all are determined that certain key economic resources, like the coal mines, shall be placed under public control.

The chief questions on which the three groups disagree are these:

(Concluded on page 6)



Must our cities decay?

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

When Tasks Are Hard

By Walter E. Myer

Not long ago I heard a student complaining about the courses he was taking. Some of them were good enough, he thought, but some of the subjects were very hard and others were uninteresting. He was inclined to rebel against the requirement that the hard or uninteresting courses be taken. Why should he spend his time on work which was especially difficult and boring? Why not be permitted to give full attention to the work which appealed to him?

I had some sympathy for this student. I could understand his feelings, for I do not like hard work myself—not too much of it—especially if it does not appeal to my interests. If someone could point out to me a job which offered full-time interest and enthusiasm, with no hard spots or difficulties, I would go for it without a moment's hesitation—that is, if it were a job which also offered an opportunity for continued growth and public service. But no one has ever shown me such a job and I doubt if one ever comes my way. There are positions which are, in the main and most of the time, interesting and inspiring, but in the case of all of them that I know anything about, there are rough places along the way. There are difficulties that can be overcome only by hard and persistent effort. Moments of ease and inspiration are interspersed with periods of hard, grinding toil, and the inspiration comes only to those who are willing to take the hard labor along with the rest.

The student who works only at subjects or problems that are easy or immediately interesting is forming a habit which will interfere with his success in later life, while the one who conquers difficulties is disciplining himself for future success. In advising my readers to plow through the hard places instead of avoiding them, I am not asking anyone to spend too much time on things that are not interesting. A task may be hard and yet not boring. Each person, to a large extent, is master of his own interests. Any new task or new problem or new subject is likely, at first, not to be attractive. We become interested in things about which we know a great deal. It is the unknown that fails to appeal to us. So when you take up a subject, give it a chance. Master it. Then, as you acquire more information and come to understand what you are doing, you will, nine times out of ten, find interest in it. As you go on with your work, problems that at first were hard and boring become easier and that which formerly was meaningless and tiring challenges your attention and commands your enthusiasm.

Housing Needs May Take Years to Fill

Shortage Reaching Critical Point As Returning Veterans Seek Homes for Families

HIGH PRICES DISCOURAGE BUILDERS

Construction Lag Since World War I Plus Increase of Families Causes Scarcity Now

The acute housing shortage which faces the United States today presents the people of the country with a challenge which must be met squarely if we are to live up to the standards of accomplishment which we set for ourselves during the war years. We have performed industrial miracles in the field of producing for total war, but it remains to be seen whether we can equal that production record when it comes to providing decent housing available to all groups within the nation.

The housing shortage is evident to all those who have been living in large cities during the war. The addition of five million war workers to congested areas during the war years put houses, apartments, rooms, and every other available unit suitable for habitation at a premium. Most of these people came from farms and villages and few of them show any desire to return. Many of them are living in dwellings which are not considered suitable for habitation by our standards, and they are waiting only for new houses to become available either for rent or purchase.

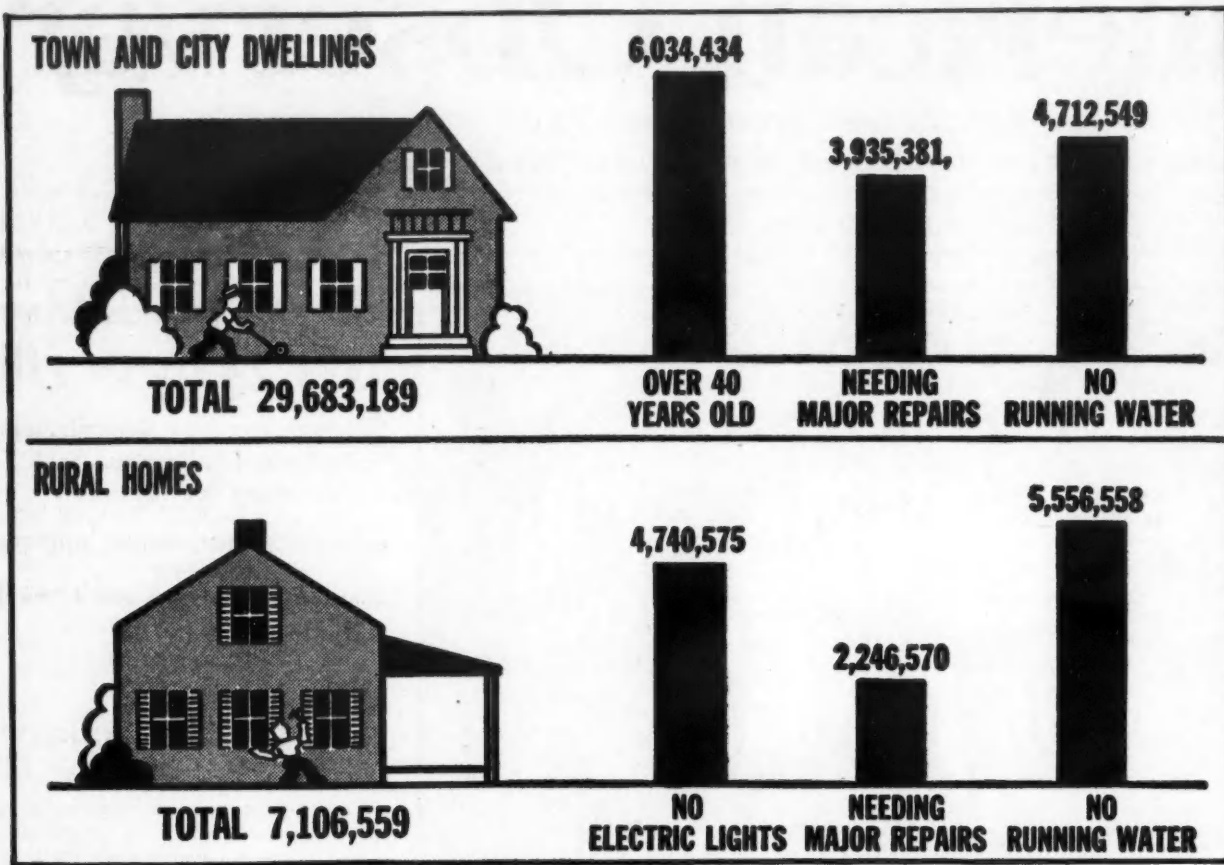
To Become Worse

On September 30 of this year, according to reliable estimates, some 1,200,000 families were living doubled up in quarters meant for only one family. It is probable that at least 2,000,000 more families will have to double up during the next year even if the largest number of houses thought possible are built during that time.

Instead of improving with the end of the war, the housing situation is growing worse. There is little prospect of any relief within the next year or two, and most experts in the field are predicting that at least a ten-year period will be required to build enough dwelling units to supply the growing demand.

The veterans who are to be discharged during the coming year are among the chief victims of this painful situation. Army surveys indicate that there are 1,300,000 veterans who are to be discharged and who intend to marry and set up homes of their own, in addition to the 1,600,000 already married whose wives and children have no permanent place to live. This means that close to 3,000,000 veterans will have to compete with civilians in finding a place to house their families.

(Concluded on page 2)



COURTESY U. S. NEWS, AN INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE ON NATIONAL AFFAIRS, PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
U. S. housing: Work to be done

America's Great Housing Needs

(Concluded from page 1)

Although the war certainly intensified the housing shortage, it did not cause it because, in spite of the fact that many "For Rent" signs were in evidence during the depression, there have not been enough houses available at reasonable cost to supply the demand since the First World War. Beginning with the development of an acute shortage during that conflict, the housing situation has been aggravated by a considerable increase in population and by failure to build a sufficient number of homes in any year since that time.

Immediately following the Armistice after the last war a building boom gave promise of supplying a large number of houses and apartments. However, then, as now, prices were high, and finally they became so advanced that people hesitated to buy or build houses and investors could see little possibility of profit. A depression followed, and it was not until the middle twenties that the construction of new dwellings increased to the point of easing the shortage.

Keeping in mind the fact that there was a considerable back-log of demand before this period, we find that 7,000,000 new housing units were constructed between 1920 and 1929. At the same time, the country gained 5,500,000 new families, which meant that only 1,500,000 of the newly constructed units were available to meet the demand which had accumulated since the war. In addition, many of the houses and apartment buildings which had been occupied for years were falling into disrepair, some were being torn down, others abandoned. The net result was that new slum areas were appearing in all our cities.

The construction industry as a whole suffered a severe blow in the economic depression of the thirties and the number of dwelling units constructed fell from the high of 937,000 in 1925 to 93,000 in 1933. Since the average American family spends a large pro-

portion of its budget for housing—more in fact, than for any other item besides food—it is plain that economic activity generally was affected by the slump in construction activities.

During the thirties, only 2,700,000 new family dwelling units were built, but the number of families increased by more than 5,000,000. Finally the government decided that a federal housing program might aid in reviving business activity, and would at least provide some additional jobs and some new homes. Federal agencies were set up to help people secure loans to pay for their homes and to provide a small amount of public housing.

At present, we have in this country almost 3,000,000 more families than we had in 1940. Because most of our industrial energies were turned to producing for war only absolutely essential housing units were constructed. Both contractors and construction workers were needed in other fields, materials were virtually unobtainable for private homes, and essential equipment needed for plumbing and heating disappeared.

Briefly, the crisis which has been developing over the last 25 years grows out of the following facts: That period has seen an increase of 13,500,000 families. Only 11,200,000 new units have been constructed to house them. The total population has increased from 105,700,000 to some 140,000,000. Old buildings are becoming dilapidated and are being torn down. Incomes are greater and more and more people are demanding better houses than they have had in the past. Housing experts agree that a minimum of some 12,600,000 new dwelling units should be constructed to supply the demand which will continue for at least the next 10 years.

What are the prospects for filling this immense order? Almost everyone agrees that we cannot hope to see the construction industry reach even the peak of the prewar years (be-

tween 900,000 and 1,000,000 units) in the immediate future. Although people who want to achieve full employment as rapidly as possible point to the fact that the task of supplying needed housing units would provide employment for almost 4,500,000 people from now until 1955, there are certain factors which are serving as effective brakes on getting home construction under way.

The first factor which is holding back contractors and people who want homes built to their own specifications is price. In most cases building costs are up from 30 to 50 per cent, and builders warn of greater price advances in the future. In Philadelphia a builder discovered that it would cost him \$40,000 now to build a house which would have cost only \$18,000 before the war. This is an increase of more than 100 per cent. The great need for new houses is in a lower price range, but even there we find that a house which could have been built for \$5,000 in 1939 now costs from \$6,500 to \$10,000, depending on the city in which it is to be built. As a result, many people are refusing to go ahead with building.

The same factor operates very strongly with regard to contractors and those who might invest in apartment buildings designed to house permanent residents. Contractors say they cannot afford to build houses on specifications because costs have gone up so that they probably would have to pay more than their original estimate for labor and materials and would fail to make a profit, or might even lose money. The wages in the building trades have gone up as much as 40 per cent and contractors estimate that payments to workers in these trades constitute about half the cost of home construction.

In addition to the discouraging effect of increased prices which are preventing both prospective home owners and contractors from building, the pic-

ture is complicated by a shortage of materials and manpower. In 1940 there were 500,000 building contractors in the country, but that number has dwindled to 140,000 at present. Because of service in the armed forces or the promise of better jobs in other fields, many former construction workers are now unavailable. All these factors, taken together, lead observers to believe that we may not be able to expect even the 475,000 new units hoped for in 1946.

The obstacles in the way of finding a solution to this problem of housing are so great that no one group alone can hope to solve them all. The answer may be found only in securing the kind of cooperation between the government, the construction industry, and private business as a whole which existed during the war. It is a real challenge because there has never been any such concerted effort exerted in peacetime. Estimates show that we could provide decent housing for all Americans, if we wanted to do it, and the cost would be no more than the cost of one year of war.

What can the government do to help accomplish this task? Price Administrator Chester Bowles believes that rent and price controls must be established on homes, and the cost of building materials must be kept down. His view is upheld by a recent survey conducted by the magazine, *Architectural Forum*, which showed that 37 per cent of the families who want to build or buy homes will give up their plans or postpone them indefinitely if prices rise by only as much as \$1,000.

There is, however, a great deal of opposition to controls on home prices, both among members of the real estate and building industries and among people who object to any governmental interference with private industry. There is even more opposition to the federal government's providing low-rent public housing, as contemplated in one section of the General Housing Bill, known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, which was recently introduced in the Senate.

Although its sponsors insist that the bill concentrates on helping private enterprise to expand its activities in the "middle market" of housing (in the neighborhood of \$3,000 to \$5,000 homes), it is already encountering strong opposition. The measure provides for combining the three major federal agencies concerned with housing (the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Federal Housing Administration, and the United States Housing Authority) into a single agency. This agency would insure private loans on 95 per cent of the cost of homes within the "middle market" price range, so that a down payment of only five per cent would be required. Interest rates would be held down to a maximum of four per cent. Repayment of the loans would be spread over a period of 32 years.

In addition, the bill provides for federal loans up to a total of \$500,000,000 to cities and towns for urban redevelopment projects (slum clearance, land purchases, housing, etc.). An additional \$88,000,000 would be given to communities to construct low-cost public housing units. The bill as a whole recognizes the joint responsibility of private industry and government for tackling the housing problem from many angles. As the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill is debated in Congress, we shall discuss at greater length its many provisions and its controversial features.

The Social Costs of Poor Housing

THE present acute housing shortage is discussed elsewhere in this week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. Too often, however, the social dividends from good housing are overlooked. The improvement in health, the improvement in school attitudes and grades, the lessening of home accidents and fires, the decrease in juvenile delinquency, all four of which are partially accomplished as a result of better housing, are important for the well-being of a great democracy.

Before the recent war, it was estimated by reliable housing experts that over 10,000,000 American families, or about one-third of the population, lived in dwellings which were unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the families themselves, and from the standpoint of the public welfare. This is even more true today. A great many of these people live in city slums. Most people are familiar with conditions in the slum areas. There are row after row of buildings crowded against each other—dark, narrow hallways—rooms which never get sunlight or fresh air—several families using the same bathroom—many apartments and houses without running water or electricity—families of eight or nine crowded into two or three small rooms—no place for children to play but the busy streets and the trash-filled alleys—such conditions as these can be found in nearly every city.

Nor are slum areas confined to the large cities. Every town or village has a number of houses which are nothing but shacks, a little tar paper and loose boards knocked together, with little plumbing, little protection against the cold, no electricity. Many farm homes would come under the same classification.

The results of poor housing on the lives and happiness of the tenants are serious. Children brought up in slum areas do not have as good opportunities to become happy, useful citizens as do young people who live in healthful and comfortable homes. There is little inspiration to be found in living quarters that are dark and crowded, without modern conveniences and comforts.

Older slum dwellers also suffer from poor health, partially due to the poor housing. Tuberculosis is particularly widespread among slum occupants.

The low health standards in slum areas are a constant menace to the community at large. Epidemics occasionally break out in these areas and spread throughout the city. Crime in nearly all communities is largely concentrated in the districts which are infested with slums. Moreover the fire bill of these districts is much higher than for the better-housed sections.

Increasingly, public-minded citizens and government officials are becoming concerned with the effect of housing on the lives of the people. This accent on the social effect of poor housing came to the public's attention partially as a result of the War Department's revelation of the high percentage of men unfit physically for military service. Here again, it was felt that poor housing was a contributing factor.

Much information has been accumulating in recent years on the relationship of bad housing to juvenile delinquency, crime, mortality, accidents, and fires. More objective studies, with proper controls to eliminate extraneous

factors, are now being made to determine the positive effects of good housing.

One such study, made of the Housing Authority of the City of Newark, N. J., by Jay Rumney and Sara Shuman, indicates that good housing, as opposed to slum dwellings, pays marked social as well as financial dividends, by "lowering the incidence of disease, accidents, fires, and crime, and also by providing the positive elements necessary to a healthy, intelligent, and responsible nation." Other studies have confirmed these results.

Rumney and Shuman, trained in objective research methods, considered three of Newark's public housing projects, containing 1,265 families as compared to three of the city's wards. The wards were selected because they were similar in socio-economic background to those previously occupied by the rehoused families. The families in the housing projects had enjoyed the benefits of superior homes for only two

deaths per 1,000 births among the Negroes as compared to 59.5 in the city as a whole.

Cases of so-called children's diseases (whooping cough, chicken pox, mumps, measles, and scarlet fever), were studied for the two-year period. While there were 114 cases per 1,000 children under 15 years of age in the projects, there were 159 cases in the wards. This superior record of the families in the projects may be the result of the increased room they have to live in. The size of apartments varies with family needs. When families increase in size, they are assigned to larger apartments as soon as possible.

The housing projects had 7.0 fires per 10,000 persons while there were 28.8 in the city's dwellings. This reduction in the number of fires is due, probably, to the fireproof structure of the housing projects. The smaller number of fires meant an enormous savings in the loss of life and personal property, in insurance rates (60 per

average grades in academic work, personality development, and health habits about ten per cent higher than those of the wards.

Mothers living in the housing projects were interviewed. Many more than half of the mothers said (1) their children had showed improvement since they moved to the projects; (2) their children were easier to keep clean; (3) their families were now happier; (4) they had had no serious home accidents; (5) that because of the low rent of the projects, they were now able to save money to buy necessities and equipment for their homes.

The authors summarize their findings by saying, "Evidence of the beneficial effects of public housing on the health, safety, and happiness of the rehoused families is clear. Behind the statistics is a tremendous savings in dollars and cents to the community in addition to the great diminution of human suffering and unhappiness."

It is estimated that the City of New-



In the shadow of the Capitol Building in Washington, as in all American cities, slum areas breed disease and crime

years. As the authors point out, however, "in any study of the relationship between disease, crime, and bad housing, that substandard housing is not a factor that operates in isolation. Usually it is accompanied by other consequences of a low income, such as a low level of nutrition, lack of medical care, lack of education." In their study they tried to indicate only the results of improved housing. Here are some of their findings:

There were twice as many cases of tuberculosis in the ward areas as there were in the good-housing areas. The well-housed Negro tenants made a particularly good record as compared to their slum-dwelling brothers. For the two-year study period, infant mortality was 35 per 1,000 in the housing projects while it was 42 in the wards. In the projects there were 17.9 infant

cent lower for the projects), and in the city's expenses in doing preventive fire work and in answering fire calls.

Juvenile delinquency, as a whole, was lower in the projects than it was in the wards. Some projects had no cases of delinquency. In the project that had marked delinquency, it was learned that a large number of families with young people having previous records with the police department had been authorized to move into the project to create a better environment for them. In this case it was found that there was also a need for improved recreational facilities which would help correct the matter. There were no girl delinquents in the projects while 22 per cent of the delinquents in the three wards were girls.

Children in the housing projects had

ark was able to save \$65,000 in one year by the reduction in tuberculosis which resulted from improved housing.

Philadelphia, according to another study of the same problem, confirmed the contention that city slums are extremely expensive to maintain. In that city, there is a slum area which contributes only \$67,000 a year in taxes, and yet this section, overridden as it was with crime, fires, and disease, costs the city \$337,000 a year.

There can be no doubt that decent housing leads to healthier citizens, more efficient workers, greater cooperation, and a more wholesome family life. One of the greatest needs of the American people today is for better housing facilities, providing light, air, ventilation, heating, and other requirements for minimum standards of decency and comfort.

The Story of the Week



SHIFT IN HIGH COMMAND. General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower has been named new chief of staff of the Army to replace General George C. Marshall, and Admiral of the Fleet Chester W. Nimitz has been appointed chief of naval operations to replace Admiral Ernest J. King.

High Command

President Truman has nominated General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower to be chief of staff of the Army and Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz to be chief of naval operations to succeed General George C. Marshall and Admiral Ernest J. King who are retiring. These appointments are subject to Senate confirmation.

General Joseph T. McNarney, now in command of the United States forces in the Mediterranean area, will succeed General Eisenhower in his threefold job of commander of the European theater, commander of the American Forces of Occupation in Germany, and United States representative on the Control Council of Germany. Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, now deputy commander-in-chief of the Pacific fleet, will succeed Admiral Nimitz as commander-in-chief of the Pacific fleet and the Pacific ocean areas.

Final action on the resignations of General H. H. Arnold, commanding general of the Army Air Forces, and General Brehon Somervell, commanding general of the Army Service Forces, has not been made yet, according to President Truman.

General Eisenhower, addressing the American Legion Convention in Chicago in his first public statement after his appointment as chief of staff, asked for a peacetime program with a unified command of all the armed forces and a minimum of one year's training for the nation's youth. No one fears a strong United States, the General declared. If we do not have a strong program, other nations will believe that we are reverting to isolation.

President Truman, rejecting a proposal by Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, that the President appoint a civilian commission to investigate the advisability of merging the armed services, indicated last week that he would soon send a message to Congress recommending unification of the land, sea, and air forces.

Issues Before Congress

Congress has a full program of work ahead of it before the nation's lawmakers can recess for the Christmas holidays. The Senate has already passed the reorganization bill giving



HARRIS & EWING

the President more authority to rearrange the executive department to make it more efficient and more economical. The bill is now under study by a joint committee of the two houses. The controversial full employment bill will receive Congress' attention soon. It will probably be quite different from the measure that President Truman asked for, providing only for a commission to study the nation's production and employment and to suggest ways of keeping them up to normal when private business seems incapable of meeting the problem.

Congress is also studying the President's request for an appropriation of \$550,000,000 to meet the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's pledges and needs for the rest of this year, and an additional appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 to meet our share of UNRRA's expenses through March of 1947. UNRRA is trying to meet the basic needs of the Allied peoples of war-torn Europe and Asia where lack of medicine, fuel, food, clothes, and shelter threatens the lives of thousands this winter.

Major issues, to which Congress will probably give additional attention next year, include pending legislation on the proposed national health program,

unification of the armed services, and universal training legislation. The joint congressional committee investigating Pearl Harbor will probably continue its inquiry in January.

International Trial

Twenty leading Germans, charged by the United Nations with major responsibility for starting World War II, are on trial for their lives at Nuremberg, Germany. The war-criminal tribunal is presided over by eminent jurists from the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and France. American Prosecutor Robert H. Jackson has opened the case by charging the German leaders with plotting war against the United States as early as 1940.

Justice Jackson has presented six charges against the defendants: (1) the lawless road to power, (2) the consolidation of power, (3) terrorism and preparation for war, (4) experiments in aggression, (5) the war of aggression, and (6) conspiracy with Japan. A mass of evidence will be presented in court to substantiate each charge. The defendants have pleaded not guilty.

The American prosecutor emphasized that the court was prosecuting specific criminals and not the German people. Of the latter he said, "The United States holds them in no fear and in no hate."

The 20 German defendants include Hermann Goering, former commander of the Air Force; Wilhelm Keitel, former field marshal general and chief of high command; and Karl Doenitz, former grand admiral and successor to Hitler.

In the Pacific theater, General Douglas MacArthur's men continue to round up Japanese leaders who are charged with war crimes. Lt. General Tomoyuki Yamashita is on trial in Manila for crimes committed under his command there.

National Health Program

President Truman, declaring that "the health of this nation is a national concern," has asked Congress for immediate action on a five-point national health program. The program would (1) provide federal funds

to build hospitals and health centers, (2) provide federal funds for more public health services and mother-child care, (3) grant federal aid to support medical education and research, (4) provide a broad, compulsory national health insurance plan, and (5) provide disability insurance against loss of pay during illness.

A bill, providing for appropriations of \$375,000,000 for a national hospital construction program (point number one), is already on the Senate calendar. A bill to carry the second, third, and fourth provisions of the proposed program into effect was immediately introduced in the Senate by Robert F. Wagner and James E. Murray, and in



JENSEN IN CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Bursting at the seams

the House by John Dingell. The disability insurance program (the fifth point), the President suggested, should be incorporated into the Social Security Act when the latter is revised.

"None of this is really new," the President emphasized. "The American people are the most insurance-minded people in the world. They will not be frightened off from health insurance because some people have misnamed it 'socialized medicine.'"

But opposition to the President's program is strong in Congress. For example, Senator Robert A. Taft declared that "it is in fact impossible to impose a federal tax-supported compulsory health insurance plan without socializing the medical profession."

Senator Wagner, in introducing his bill, said, "A system of prepaid medical care is simply a method of assuring a person ready access to the medical care that he or she needs by eliminating the financial barrier between the patient and the doctor or hospital."

Revolt in Iran

Iranian troops, marching to relieve besieged garrisons in the revolting province of Azerbaijan in the Russian-occupied zone of Iran, have been halted by the Russians and told to return to Teheran, national capital. The Iranian ambassador to the United States, Hussein Ala, has asked American intercession to stop alleged Russian aid to the insurgents.

The Russians say that the revolt started when reactionary landlords attacked democratic elements in Azerbaijan. Others say that the "democratic elements" are really members of the old Iranian Communist party who acted upon instructions from Moscow. The revolt is reported to be armed



CHRISTMAS SHOPPING IN TOKYO. Members of the armed forces do their Christmas shopping early at the Army's newly opened store—"PX Tokyo"—situated in what was one of Tokyo's largest department stores.

INT'L NEWS PHOTO

with weapons which Russia seized from the Iranians when Soviet troops moved into the area in 1941 to help protect the lend-lease goods route to Russia.

Relations between Iran and Russia have been strained for some time because Iran refused to consider Russian demands for special oil concessions until "after the war."

Great Britain is keeping a watchful eye on the situation but does not plan to protest to Russia for allowing a revolt in the Russian zone of occupation, at least for the time being.

American troops are not stationed in the disaffected area. Our forces are farther to the south, concentrated around a supply base and an airfield. A few detachments, protecting American property, are scattered as far north as Teheran.

Pearl Harbor Study

Politics played almost as important a role as fact-finding, as the Joint Congressional Pearl Harbor Committee continued its investigation last week into the events which led to the disaster of December 7, 1941. Six of the ten members of the committee are Democrats and four are Republicans. Some observers felt that these party blocs had their eyes on the elections for the control of Congress in 1946, and for President in 1948, and were only secondarily concerned with finding the undisputed facts of what happened at Pearl Harbor, and what person or persons must be held responsible for that catastrophe.

The Republican bloc charges that the Democratic administration is suppressing evidence, and using other measures to hide the truth. The Democrats charge that the Republicans have embarked on a "smear" campaign and that in the absence of facts, are willing to use various devices to make the Roosevelt administration appear to have been guilty of dereliction of duty.

Admiral J. O. Richardson, retired former naval commander of the Pacific area, has been testifying before the committee. He declared that the fleet was retained in the Hawaiian area in order to "exercise a restraining influence on the actions of Japan"



KEY WITNESSES. At the Joint Congressional Pearl Harbor Investigation Committee, Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel (left) and Major General Walter C. Short will be key witnesses. Kimmel and Short were the commanding officers at Pearl Harbor at the time of the attack.

in 1940 and 1941. This, according to the admiral, was the wish of President Roosevelt.

Japan's military government knew the weakened condition of our fleet and undoubtedly was not impressed by its anchorage at Pearl Harbor, the admiral continued. He felt that the Japanese would have been more impressed if the fleet had returned to our Pacific coast and had been supplied and equipped for war operations. The admiral explained these views to the late President.

The investigation is expected to continue for several weeks.

The Far East

Manchuria, strategic, mineral and industrially rich Chinese province, is the prize that both the Chinese Communists and the Nationalists feel they must have to improve their positions against each other. While the Communists were strengthening and expanding their area by occupying Harbin and Tsitsihar in the interior of Manchuria last week, the Nationalists poured two armies through breaches in the great wall into Manchuria. As Nationalist supply lines became more extended Communist guerrillas attacked the lines cutting in places im-

portant railroads and routes to the well-armed Nationalists.

The Communists have pledged a last-ditch fight for Manchuria, whose factories, railroads, and annual steel and coal output compare favorably with those for all the rest of China. Manchuria also has 15,000,000 tons of untapped oil, as well as magnesite, and tungsten. With Manchuria, the Communist party could do much to re-equip its large army and to strengthen the territories which it now holds.

The Chinese Nationalists feel that they must control Manchuria to prove to the world that they are the central government in control of a strong, united China. This prestige is necessary to secure western money for a five-year Chinese industrial plan which is also dependent on Manchuria's steel production. The Nationalists hope to use the province as a northern arm of a pincers movement to attack the Communists entrenched in the north and central provinces of China.

While Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands was "concerned" with the unhappy struggle of the Indonesians for independence from the Dutch empire, pitched battles were reported in progress in Surabaya and Batavia, leading Javanese cities, between the Indonesian Nationalists and the British. The latter were drawn into the conflict after they landed to help the Dutch disarm the Japanese forces stationed on the island.

The Labor Front

The United Automobile Workers, the world's strongest labor union, has called the long-threatened strike against the General Motors Corporation, whose far-flung plants combine to make the world's largest industrial company. This strike of 350,000 workers from 100 plants, the first big strike in the reconversion period, is the result of the disagreement over wages.

The UAW has demanded a 30 per cent wage increase to maintain wages and the standards of living after working hours were cut from 48 to 40 hours per week. General Motors offered three counter-proposals during the negotiations with UAW. At first the company rejected the wage increase entirely. Then it proposed a "cost-of-living" advance for those workers whose hourly wages had not kept pace since 1941 with the 30 per cent rise in prices. The third offer proposed a

flat 10 per cent increase in hourly rates with a promise of a 45-hour week. This, the company said, would raise wages six per cent above war-time levels.

The union rejected these proposals and asked that a conciliator be appointed by the secretary of labor and that this conciliator be allowed to sit in on negotiations.

The immediate cause of the present strike was the corporation's announcement that it would not be able to meet the UAW's 24-hour deadline on the demand that the wage dispute be submitted to arbitration, with all decisions binding on both parties. The company's delay was labeled "stalling" by the UAW.

Automobile Prices

Price ceilings on new cars, as announced by Chester Bowles of the Office of Price Administration recently, average close to the 1942 prices. Mr. Bowles has ordered most of the increases to be absorbed out of the dealers' profits, because, he explained, there is such a heavy demand for cars now that dealers' expenses will not be as high as they were before the war.

The ceilings will keep Chevrolet the cheapest car of the big three (Ford, Plymouth, Chevrolet), unless the other firms shave their prices. Price ceilings for Packard, Hudson, Nash, Willys, Crosley, and the new Fraser-Kaiser car will be announced later.

The automobile industry has received good news on the supply of



Can't hang on and afraid to let go

rubber for the production of passenger car tires when it was predicted that the United States will probably get 400,000 tons of the Far East's 1946 natural rubber production. This supply, when blended with synthetic rubber, can make an estimated 66,000,000 tires for passenger cars.

Ellwood Cake, U. S. Rubber Company official, has just returned from a trip to the Far East to study the rubber output there. He found that damage to trees and rubber plantations was small in Malaya, and that the most serious problem is that of getting native labor. The Japanese sent thousands of rubber plantation workers to Burma to build roads and air fields. Many of these workers died from ill treatment. It will take from three to five years, however, to bring Far Eastern production back to normal, Mr. Cake declared.

SMILES

Customer: "I want to buy a pencil."
Clerk: "Hard or soft?"
Customer: "Hard, it's for a stiff exam."

★ ★ ★

"I've told thousands of women where to get off."
"You must be a lady killer."
"No, I run an elevator in a department store."

★ ★ ★

Jones: "I say, Smith, didn't you say your dog's bark was worse than his bite?"
Smith: "Yes."
Jones: "Then for goodness sake, don't let him bark. He just bit me."

★ ★ ★

"What is a pedestrian, Daddy?" asked the small daughter.
"It's a person with a wife, daughter, two sons and one car," answered her experienced parent.

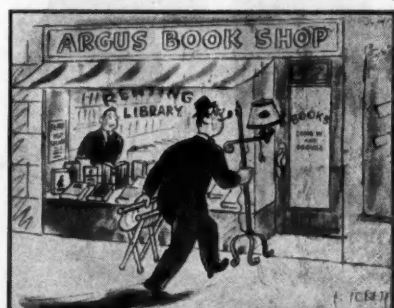
★ ★ ★

Little Boy: "What part of the body is the fray?"
Teacher: "What part of the body is the fray? What are you talking about?"
Little Boy: "Well, right here in the history book it says—the general was shot in the thick of the fray."

Preacher: "What is the opposite of sorrow?"
Farmer: "Joy."
Preacher: "And the opposite of misery?"
Farmer: "Happiness."
Preacher: "And what is the opposite of woe?"
Farmer: "Giddap."

★ ★ ★

Teacher (after lesson on snow): "As we walk out on a cold winter day and look around, what do we see on every hand?"
Pupil: "Gloves!"



TOBEY IN COLLIER'S



Devastated French town in the area of Cherbourg

P. A. I. INC.

Socialism in Europe

(Concluded from page 1)

Which industries shall be taken over and which left to their present owners? How fast shall the socialization program proceed? To what form of public ownership shall the socialized industries be transferred? Shall present owners of industrial property be paid for the loss of their property? If so, what shall be the terms of compensation?

Here is the way the leading parties line up on these issues. The Communists, by and large, urge the most thoroughgoing program of socialization, wishing almost all important businesses and industries to be placed under public control. But they wish the transformation to proceed slowly, so that they will have time to build up their national strength and gain a larger measure of control of the new economic system. The Socialists and members of the Popular Republican Movement want a slightly less sweeping socialization program, but, since their national following is already large, they want the transformation to move swiftly.

Probably the biggest and most significant differences among the dominant parties concern the form of public ownership which will succeed private control. The Communists want most planning and administration of the socialized economic facilities to be handled from the national level. The Socialist Party and the Popular Republican Movement, on the other hand, urge a decentralized economy in which much of the planning and administration will be left to local or regional groups.

The Socialists in particular favor the idea of handing over many industries to private cooperatives and to the smaller governmental units—municipalities, counties, and departments (the French equivalent of our states). They are also eager to make sure that the socialized industries shall be run by cooperating groups of workers, government representatives, and managers. Whereas the Communists favor administering the economic system almost exclusively through government officials, the Socialists want committees of workers, minor management officials, such as shop foremen, and consumers to be represented in the administration.

There is a precedent for the socialist type of economic management in France. Under the Third Republic, a

number of small cooperative enterprises operated successfully, and municipal ownership of some economic facilities, such as public utilities, was found workable. State-owned railways operated under a system, roughly approximating the Socialist program, permitting a small degree of labor participation in their management. Similarly, the Communist type of program has its precedent in the prewar postal system. This important enterprise, which included telephone and telegraph operations, was nationally run under the old French government and was administered by government officials without either worker or consumer aid.

There is little disagreement among the leading parties on the problem of compensating the former owners of industrial property to be taken over by the government when the former owners are known to have collaborated with the Germans. All parties are agreed that collaborationist property shall be taken without compensation. As for property owners against whom there are no charges of collaboration, the Socialists and Popular Republicans are inclined to favor reasonable compensation. Although the Communists have not suggested that their property be taken completely without payment, they feel that smaller payments should be made.

The first attempts at socialization in France took place shortly after the country was liberated from the Germans. De Gaulle's provisional government took over the northern mines which produce 75 per cent of the French coal supply. The original plan was to place the mines under the control of a national corporation. The state was to supply working capital and receive interest payments for mine earnings. Profits were to be divided among the workers, the management, and the government. Administration was to be in the hands of a committee of government officials, representatives of management, representatives of the public and of the workers.

Although the government made strenuous efforts to get the mines back into operation on this basis, controversies over the plan impeded the process. The trade unions put up strong opposition to the idea of compensating former owners, and the government, then unsanctioned by a vote of the people, was too weak to enforce

its program. Now, however, it is likely that socialized production can be effectively instituted.

In England, the movement toward socialization is not complicated by disputes within the government as it is in France. The Labor Party, with its program of socialism, received a clear mandate from the people when it secured 388 out of 640 seats in the House of Commons.

Thus many of the issues troubling contemporary French political life are already settled in England. The nationalization of the Bank of England, which controls British financial life, is already in progress, and the government has introduced bills covering the nationalization of coal mines, aviation, commercial cable and radio services, electric and gas supply industries, railroads, canals, truck lines, and docks and harbors.

Prime Minister Attlee and his cabinet propose to treat all these key economic facilities in approximately the same way. They plan to bargain with present owners until they arrive at a fair basis of compensation and then set up public corporations to manage the nationalized industries.

Under the "tripartite plan" announced by Sir Stafford Cripps, head of the Board of Trade, the nationalized industries, which will eventually include all major enterprises now under private control, will function under the joint management of employers, employees, and government representatives. The final details of their financial operation have not yet been worked out, but it is expected that they will come under a national budget system rather than the semi-independent financial system advocated by the French Socialists.

In addition to the nationalization of key production facilities, the British Labor government proposes to introduce a sweeping national insurance plan and a state medical service program. The national insurance plan sponsored by the Laborites follows the broad outlines of the Beveridge plan for workman's compensation, unemployment insurance, and special benefits for various categories of needy persons, such as the aged, widows, and mothers of low-income families.

The chief difficulties the government has encountered in launching its program of socialization have centered on the question of compensation. Just how the stockholders of the various corporations to be nationalized are to

be compensated is not yet settled. Sharp debates are raging between stockholders of all the great industries and representatives of the government. The government offer of \$1,000,000,000 to \$1,200,000,000 for the mines has been rejected by the owners. Similarly, there is still no final agreement on compensation for those holding interests in the Bank of England.

In the smaller countries of western Europe, the great changes now going on in England and France are reproduced on a smaller scale. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are all currently headed by governments similar to that of Britain, and all are preparing for approximations of the kind of changes now taking place in Britain. Denmark is likely to institute the least drastic socialization of the three, and there are relatively few changes necessary in Sweden to make its government over in the mold of moderate socialism.

In Norway, however, the newly elected Labor Party government of Einar Gerhardsen contemplates a transition to a fairly complete planned economy. While only public utilities and other key industries are to be directly socialized, the national government will increase its regulatory powers over the rest of the economy.

In Belgium and Holland, unanswered political questions still stand in the way of economic changes. Holland is busy settling her fate as a colonial power, and Belgium is still handicapped by the fact that the future of her monarchical system is in doubt.

For all these countries, the future of democracy is being determined along with the big economic issues. Many people have feared that, in choosing socialism, a nation was forced to reject political democracy. But others believe that the two can be successfully combined. To the French Socialists and Popular Republicans, the answer lies in decentralization, which keeps the government from gaining too much power, and in the safeguarding of the people's interests through labor and consumer representation in management. The British Laborites believe that democracy can coexist with socialism so long as the parliamentary process is kept vital and so long as the government shares managerial responsibility with the trade unions and other groups. In all these countries, hopes for the continuation of democratic liberties are high because of the people's long tradition of devotion to ideals of freedom.



Dancing lesson

LOW © ALL COUNTRY

The Land and People of France

FRANCE has an estimated population of 38,000,000 people in a country smaller than the State of Texas. Surrounded by natural boundaries of mountains and water, except on the Belgian border on the north, France has for neighbors, Belgium and Luxembourg, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain. Her coastline extends for 2,000 miles along the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the English Channel, with the three important naval bases of Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon, and the seaports of Le Havre, Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne.

The western third of France is, for the most part, low and level. The central area is an upland which leads to high mountains in the south and east—the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, the Alps, and the Vosges. There are four important rivers: the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone. These arteries of commerce are supplemented by an excellent chain of canals. The climate, while varied, is ideal for agriculture. The four largest cities are the capital, Paris, often called the "heart of France," Marseille, Lyon, and Bordeaux.

Intensive Cultivation

In this compact country, the rich farmlands are intensively cultivated on small farms which average 24 acres. Four out of five farmers own their own land. Experts in the production of small crops (vegetables, fruits), the average small French farmer is finding it increasingly difficult to compete with the large mechanized farmers of Canada and Argentina in the production of grains. In the past the chief agricultural products have been large quantities of cereal grains (especially wheat), potatoes, sugar beets, a wide variety of fruits (including enormous quantities of grapes for wine-making), and vegetables. Even such merchants as the town baker or tavern keeper have their own cows, rabbit hutches, vegetable plots, and wood lots. One reason for the rapid recovery of France during the last depression was said to be the French people's nearness to the soil. Nearly everyone in the country who could send him a weekly supply of vegetables, meat, and butter.

In addition to competition from agriculturally mechanized countries, France suffered from manpower shortage even before the German invasion. This was accelerated by "the flight" of French youth to the cities as well as the well-known decline in the birth rate. Many people who continued to live in the country derived their chief source of income from neighboring cities.

While France is rich in such minerals as coal, iron, and bauxite deposits, her wealth is not comparable to that of Germany or of England. Although she produces more iron ore than any other European country, she has been handicapped by the lack of coking coal. While France, in the pre-war years, produced 11,000,000 tons of iron ore she produced only 7,500,000 tons of pig iron. Germany converted 3,000,000 tons of iron ore into 18,000,000 tons of pig iron. Before the war, France produced 6,000,000 tons of coal, Germany 186,000,000 tons and Great Britain 236,000,000 tons.

Only in luxury goods has France

produced large quantities for export. Here skilled labor rather than machinery is important. France is world famous for her leadership in the production of silks, laces, smart clothes, perfumes, and art furniture. Bringing to France vast wealth through export trade, these products were also important in attracting the important tourist business. But in the past, the success of the luxury goods and tourist business have depended upon world prosperity and have declined sharply during periods of depression.

France is mistress of an enormous colonial empire covering an area of 4,693,000 square miles and holding a population in excess of 70,000,000. It includes almost all the great western bulge of Africa (Algeria, Tunisia,

duction of German coking coal and better technical knowledge. French industry needs modernization. These improvements in the heavy industries need not interfere with France's great luxury trades.

There are many other problems which France must solve if she is to regain a position of world importance. Among these are (1) her seriously declining birth rate with the consequent decrease in population (at present the number of deaths exceed the number of births in France); (2) her relations with the great world powers. Should international cooperation fall short of success, France would be faced with the decision of aligning herself with Great Britain and a western bloc of nations or of building

polls to vote for the National Constituent Assembly which was to provide an interim, or temporary, government while a new constitution was written for France. Three leading parties, the Communists (142 seats), the Socialists (133 seats), and the Mouvement Republicain Populaire (140 seats) were swept into power. The remaining seats were divided among a half dozen different parties. All three of the leading parties gave General de Gaulle their support. But when he did not name a Communist for one of the three major cabinet posts (Foreign Affairs, War, Interior), the Communists withdrew their support.

In the ensuing crisis both sides jockeyed for strength. De Gaulle, who is supposed to favor the more conservative Mouvement Republicain Populaire, submitted his resignation, hoping for reappointment. The Communists considered the possibility of supporting someone else in de Gaulle's place. It seemed doubtful that the Socialists, the middle-of-the-road party, between the Communists and the MRP, would join with either of the other parties to support anyone else. The MRP, a middle-class moderate party, insists on de Gaulle to head the state.

Differences with Communists

The Communists think that they did not receive major cabinet appointments because de Gaulle questions their patriotism, and that he wants to build a "western bloc" (i. e., a closer alliance with Great Britain and the countries of western Europe, and possibly the United States). The Communists believe that France's foreign policy should be based largely upon close relations with Soviet Russia.

A temporary solution to this difficult problem was reached late last month when, in the National Constituent Assembly, the Socialists voted with the Popular Republicans to keep de Gaulle as president. Thus he has weathered the first political storm since the recent elections. But it must be admitted that de Gaulle's position has been weakened and that he must work out a compromise with the Communists if he is to remain in power. The Communists are the largest single party in the Constituent Assembly and on some future issue may be able to swing enough votes to their side to defeat de Gaulle and force him from office.

In fact, one of France's greatest political weaknesses in the prewar days lay in the large number of parties and the constant shifting of allegiance from one group to another. On relatively minor issues, a French cabinet could be forced from office because it could not command a majority of the votes in the Chamber of Deputies, the important legislative body. Many Frenchmen realize that, in drafting a new constitution for France, this prewar weakness will be taken into account. If the country is to avoid the political instability of the past, a formula must be worked out whereby a cabinet can be forced to resign only when it does not represent the wishes of a majority of the people on issues of great national importance and not merely on relatively trivial matters. This will be the responsibility of the Constituent Assembly.



France and its resources

French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the protectorate of Morocco, and the mandates of the former German colonies, Togoland and Cameroons) plus French Somaliland, and the island of Madagascar, Reunion, and Comoro in the Indian Ocean. There are French Indo-China (currently in revolt for independence), and small sections of India; St. Pierre and Miquelon (off the coast of Newfoundland); Guadeloupe and Martinique (in the Caribbean); French Guiana in South America; and New Caledonia and the Society Islands in the Pacific.

In maintaining her empire she is faced with the problem of granting an increasing amount of self-government to her colonial dependents. France has had trouble in reestablishing her authority in Syria and in French Indo-China.

In the past France has been proud of her balance between agriculture and industry, but today she finds that there is much room for improvement in her economy. Her agricultural machinery is outdated, resulting in high production costs. Her industries can be more intensively developed, with the intro-

stronger ties with the Soviet Union.

The French people have always taken a lively interest in politics, discussing the issues of the day with considerable fervor at cafes and on street corners. The French entertain positive opinions, and before the war supported numerous political parties. These parties ranged all the way from being the extreme "right," which represented the ultraconservatives, through the moderate groups to the "left," the radical parties. These parties, except the French counterpart of the Fascist party, went underground during the German occupation of France.

General Charles de Gaulle, essentially a military man rather than a politician, appealed to the French during their darkest hour to resist the Germans, declaring "France has lost a battle, she has not lost the war." French patriots of the old parties rallied to de Gaulle's leadership. After the liberation of France in August 1944 de Gaulle became the *de facto* head of France until constitutional government could be reestablished.

Last month the people went to the

Suggested Study Guide for Students

Housing

1. How has the war intensified the nation's housing problems?
2. What was the housing situation in the years between the two world wars?
3. What are some of the costly and ill effects of slum conditions and bad housing in general?
4. How many new dwelling units should be constructed in the next 10 years, according to experts in this field?
5. What are some of the present obstacles to an adequate housing program?
6. Why is it felt that private industry may not be able to build homes for all those who need them?
7. What action has the government already taken in the low-cost public housing field?
8. Describe the public-housing provisions of the General Housing Bill which has been introduced in Congress by Senators Wagner, Taft, and Ellender.
9. How would this bill make it easier for people in middle-income groups to buy homes?

Discussion

On the basis of your present information, would you be inclined to favor or oppose the General Housing Bill now before Congress? Give your reasons.

From first-hand observations of conditions in your community, would you say that the housing situation as a whole is good, fair, or bad?

Project

A good classroom project would be for students to make a rather thorough investigation of housing conditions in their own towns or cities. Go to your Chamber of Commerce and find out what facts it has on this subject. Find out what other local agencies or groups have studied the local situation. Investigate the average age of houses in your community, the number which do not have indoor bathroom facilities, the number which are in need of major repairs, and other similar facts. If you have a local housing authority, talk with its officials. Visit public housing projects if there are any in your community. The Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., has a wealth of housing facts about every community of any size. Write for information about your city.



Decent housing facilities for the American people is one of our great needs.

Reading

Several very good pamphlets on the housing problem are as follows:

"Should the Federal Government Support Public Housing Projects?" A four-man radio discussion sponsored by *The American Forum of the Air*. The pamphlet may be obtained from Ransdell, Inc., 810 Rhode Island Ave., N. E., Washington 18, D. C. Enclose 10 cents to cover mailing costs.

"Housing: Today and Tomorrow." A radio discussion by *The University of Chicago Round Table*, Chicago, Illinois. Write for pamphlet No. 377, and enclose 10 cents.

"Houses for Tomorrow," by T. R. Carskadon, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 96. This may be obtained from the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 20. Enclose 15 cents to cover cost and mailing charges.

We recommend the following magazine articles on this subject:

"Growing Pinch in Housing," *United States News*, November 16.

"The Housing Shortage," by Miriam Borgenicht, *New Republic*, November 19.

For those who wish to study the housing problem of the United States at greater length, we recommend two excellent books. The first is *The Seven Myths of Housing* by Nathan Straus, former administrator of the United States Housing Authority (New

York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75). The second is *American Housing: Problems and Prospects* and is a publication of the Twentieth Century Fund of New York City. The price is three dollars.

Western Europe

1. What are some of the issues on which the leading parties of France are in disagreement?
2. What are the three leading parties in the new French Assembly?
3. Explain how these parties differ from one another in their political and economic viewpoints.
4. How does General de Gaulle stand on the question of industrial changes in France?
5. To what extent is socialism being adopted in England, and how will the socialized industries be operated?
6. What is the position of the smaller countries in western Europe with respect to government ownership of industry?
7. To what extent had France adopted socialism before the war?
8. What characteristic of the Russian Communist system do the majority of people and leaders in western European nations seem determined not to copy?

Discussion

Do you believe that it is possible for a nation to establish an extensive system of government ownership of industry and still maintain its political freedom?

Specifically, do you think England, now that she is turning in the direction of socialism, will be able to retain the political democracy for which she has been famous?

Do you feel that our government should withhold financial aid to Britain in view of her radical policies, or do you believe that each country should have the right to work out its own problems in its own way, and that therefore we should not consider this point in deciding whether or not to help her?

References

- "France: Beachhead of Liberty," by R. W. Davenport, *Fortune*, October.
 "France's Role in Europe," by E. J. Knapton, *Current History*, November.
 "It's Socialism, Not Communism," by H. J. Laski, *New York Times Magazine*, August 26.



The vultures

"Socialism, British Brand," by H. J. Laski, *Collier's*, September 22.

"Britain's Socialism Remains British," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 6.

"What Does the British Labor Victory Mean to America?" This is a radio-discussion pamphlet published by "Wake Up America," the American Economic Foundation, 295 Madison Ave., New York City 17, Broadcast No. 284, 10 cents.

Miscellaneous

1. What changes have been made in the high command of our Army and Navy?
2. How have politics been figuring in the congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster?
3. What are some of the economic resources of Manchuria? Why are both the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists so eager to control that province?
4. What are the five points in President Truman's national health program?
5. Outline the principal issues involved in the strike in the General Motors plants.
6. What are some of France's principal mineral resources? How do they compare with those of Germany?

Pronunciations

Hussein Ala—hoo-sane' ah'lah
 Azerbaijan—ah-zer-bi-jahn'—i as in ice
 Batavia—bah-tay'vee-ah
 Bordeaux—bor-do'—o as in go
 Boulogne—boo-lon'y'—o as in go
 Calais—kah-lay'
 Cevennes—seh-ven'
 Cherbourg—shair'boor
 Doenitz—duh'neets
 Garonne—gah-ron'—o as in or
 Hermann Goering—hair'mahn gub'ring
 Harbin—hahr'bin'
 Wilhelm Keitel—veel'helm ki'tel—i as in ice
 LeHavre—luh' ahvr'
 Loire—lwahr'
 Lyon—lee'on'—o as in go
 Marseille—mahr-say'
 Seine—sehn'
 Somaliland—soe-mah'li-land
 Surabaya—soor-ah-bah'yah
 Teheran—teh-rah'n'
 Toulon—too-lon'—o as in go
 Tsitsihar—tsee'tsee'hahr'
 Tunisia—too-nish'i-a
 Vosges—voz'h'—o as in go
 Tomoyuki Yamashita—toe-moe-yoo-kah-yah-mah-shee-tah



Violent political differences undermined French political stability before the war. Will the new constitution, now being drafted, eliminate the weaknesses of the old?